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"I want to say very frankly to you that she is not now interested in European politics, but she is interested in the partnership of right between America and Europe. If the future had nothing for us but a new attempt to keep the world at a right poise by a balance of power, the United States would take no interest, because she will join no combination of power which is not a combination of all of us. She is not interested merely in the peace of Europe, but in the peace of the world.

"Therefore it seems to me that in the settlement which is just ahead of us something more delicate and difficult than was ever attempted before has to be accomplished—a genuine concert of mind and of purpose. But while it is difficult, there is an element present that makes it easy. Never before in the history of the world, I believe, has there been such a keen international consciousness as there is now.

"There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which if any statesman resist will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

"That is the reason why it seems to me that the things that are more often in our minds are the least significant. I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement which we are about to attempt will altogether be satisfactory.

"One has only to apply his mind to any one of the questions of boundary and of altered sovereignty and of racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man and no body of men who know just how they ought to be settled; and yet, if we are to make unsatisfactory settlements we must see to it that they are rendered more and more satisfactory by the subsequent adjustments which are made possible. We must provide the machinery for readjustments in order that we have the machinery of good will and friendship.

"Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot cooperate with you, I cannot be your friend; and if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests. That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference, so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big."

Concert, Not Balance of Power

On January 3, speaking in the House of Deputies of Italy's Parliament before assembled legislators and diplomats and the royal family, the President paid tribute on behalf of America to Italy and to her share in winning the war. In the course of his speech he said:

"The great difficulty among such States as those of the Balkans has been that they were always accessible to secret influence, and they were always being penetrated by intrigue of some sort or another; that north of them lay disturbed populations which were held together not by sympathy and friendship, but by the coercive force of a military power.

"I am sure that you recognize the principles as I do—that it is not our privilege to say what sort of a government they should set up. But we are friends of those people, and it is our duty as their friends to see to it that some kind of protection is thrown around them, something supplied which will hold them together.

"We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself, and a waste (weight?) which does not hold together cannot constitute a makeweight in the affairs of men.

"Therefore, there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united league of nations."

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

... **American Jewry** will be represented during the Peace Conference at Paris by nine delegates named by the first American Jewish Congress, held in Philadelphia in mid-December, at which action was taken by representatives of 3,500,000 residents of the republic, who are deeply concerned with the ultimate effect of the war and of the Peace Conference upon the status of their fellow Jews abroad. Radical and conservative, liberal and reactionary, Zionist and internationalist Jews were constituents of the congress; and the opinion it formally expresses the will of the largest, wealthiest, freest, and most influential community of the Jewish race in the world. By reason of the close identification of not a few of the leaders of the congress with the Wilson administration and because of the dominant place the American community has in world-Jewry, this delegation sitting at Paris will have an opportunity of mediation with European Jewish statesmen and financiers which will make it an exceptionally influential group. The delegation goes to Paris committed to the following bill of rights, which, if it is endorsed by representative delegations from the Jews of Europe, will be set before the Peace Conference as the voice of the race. It reads thus:

Resolved, That the American Jewish Congress respectfully requests the Peace Conference to insert in the treaty of peace conditions precedent to the creation of the new or enlarged States which it is proposed to call into being, and that these express provisions be made a part of the constitutions of such States before they shall be finally recognized as States by the signatures of the treaty, as follows:

1. All inhabitants of the territory of —, including such persons, together with their families, who subsequent to August 1, 1914, fled, removed, or were expelled therefrom, and who shall, within ten years from the adoption of this provision, return thereto, shall for all purposes be citizens thereof: *Provided, however*, That such as have heretofore been subjects of other States, who desire to retain their allegiance to such States or assume allegiance to their successor States, to the exclusion of — citizenship may do so by a formal declaration, to be made within a specified period.

2. For a period of ten years from the adoption of this provision no law shall be enacted restricting any former inhabitant of a State which included the territory of — from taking up his residence in — and thereby acquiring citizenship therein.

3. All citizens of —, without distinction as to race, nationality, or creed, shall enjoy equal civil, political, religious, and national rights, and no law shall be enacted or enforced which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of, or impose upon, any person any discrimination, disability, or restriction whatsoever on account of race, nationality, or religion, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws.

4. The principle of minority representation shall be provided for by law.

5. The members of the various national as well as religious bodies of — shall be accorded autonomous

management of their own communal institutions whether they be religious, educational, charitable, or otherwise.

6. No law shall be enacted restricting the use of any language, and all existing laws declaring such prohibition are repealed, nor shall any language test be established.

7. Those who observe any other than the first day of the week as their Sabbath shall not be prohibited from pursuing their secular affairs on any day other than that which they observe; nor shall they be required to perform any acts on their Sabbath or holy days which they shall regard as a desecration thereof.

... **The American Jewish Congress** also took important action arising from concrete conditions in Poland, where, with creation of the new state and the coming into power of the nationalists, there are said to have been conflicts between Christian and Jewish elements of the population which, if continued, would not improve the status of the newly united state at the Paris Conference with many of its important delegations and delegates. Accepting offers made by the Polish National Department and the Polish National Defense Committee, rival organizations which have enlisted Poles resident in the United States in propaganda favorable to Poland's autonomy and renaissance, the Jewish Congress agreed to name two Jews who will serve on a committee of six members. They are to be sent to Poland and Galicia to investigate actual conditions and report on responsibility for any "pogroms" and race conflicts that may have arisen. Two Poles resident in America also will serve on this committee, and two Americans of eminence who are neither Polish nor Jewish. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Congress while in session laid before President Masaryk, of the Czechoslovak Republic, charges that in Bohemia the Jews were being made to suffer from deportation; and that he immediately cabled from Paris that he had given strict instructions to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to put an end to any such discrimination against Jews.

... **Armenia's independence as a nation**, if the Foreign Relations Committee of the U. S. Senate reports favorably upon a resolution introduced by Senator Lodge, will be discussed by that lawmaking body, along with others of a similar purport. The Department of State hesitates about conceding such recognition. President Wilson stands sponsor for a special "drive" for \$30,000,000 which is to be made by the American Committee for Relief in the Near East during the week January 12-19; and of course, if this sum or anything like it is procured, the destitute, homeless and kinless refugees of Armenia as well as of other Western Asiatic countries will be cared for, in part at least. Congressional approval of national incorporation of this organization has been sought, but it has not been easy to gain, owing to the disinclination of the lawmakers to establish a precedent that might be embarrassing in the future. The government does plan, however, to show its very practical sympathy for the cause of Armenian relief, by giving to this Near East Relief Committee use of transports, which will sail about the middle of this month with a commission of agricultural experts, doctors, and

nurses, and a large collection of medical supplies and American farm implements. How grave the crisis is may be inferred from cables from Turkey to the committee saying that at least 2,000,000 deported Armenians are destitute and starving, and that only 400,000 of them may live. On December 21, in Paris, the independence of Armenia from Turkish rule was declared by the Armenian delegation then resident in that city, and the Entente nations and the United States were notified of the fact and asked to assume a position of trusteeship toward the young and aspiring nation. "Integral Armenia and Cilicia" are included in the territory thus declared self-governing. Inclusion of Cilicia would give the new State a port on the Mediterranean.

... **Australia**, that is in the throes of a sharp clash of its wage earners one with another over the future policy of the "class," and that is deeply concerned with any such decision with respect to Germany's former holdings of islands in the Pacific as the British imperial officials and the Paris Conference may make, is yet not without citizens who are profoundly concerned with the outcome of the Paris Conference, because they hope to see it define once and for all a plan for international federation which will relieve the insular continent from all further thoughts of armament, from contributions of men and wealth to settle Europe's quarrels, and from all the taxes that war brings. Geo. S. Beeby, Minister for Labor and Industry of Australia, who has been touring the United States and Canada studying how those nations are planning to deal with the repatriated soldier, while in Washington, told a *Post* interviewer that "Australia does not claim consideration beyond its importance in the final adjustment of the peace terms, but it does not regard questions relating to territory, punishment or racial disputes as the greatest issues before the Peace Conference. It is, however, profoundly interested in the proposal to create a league of nations; to maintain some permanent alliance between the democracies which combined to save civilization from Teutonic domination. Australians believed that the war would result in a moral awakening among all the Allies which would lead to the reduction of armaments, the abolition of conscription and the establishment of a court of international appeal. They want now to turn their attention from war and the waste of rival armaments to those intimate local problems that must be dealt with if we are to be saved from the spirit of anarchy which is lurking in every country. To them the blood of the millions of soldiers who died for liberty will have been shed in vain if the Peace Conference fails to save the world in the future from militarism and rivalry in the maintenance of armies and navies."

... **Aviation in wars** to come, if such there are to be, will undergo stricter definition as to its use within limits of international law; and one of the important accessory, cognate conferences to be held in Paris early this year, will include expert delegates from all the countries associated against the Central Powers, who will define a policy such as is deemed necessary by men who know the technique of the art, which in turn will come before the Peace Conference delegates for amend-

ment, reconstruction, or ratification. In connection with this topic it is pleasant for Americans to note that the French Government and aviation authorities, during the past month, in their erection of a memorial to Wilbur Wright at the town in France where he first demonstrated to Europe that he had won his way to the secret of directed, sustained mechanical flight, have coupled his name with that of Lafayette, and cite him as having formed another personal link that always will bind the two republics together.

... **Chili and Peru**, by a communication from the State Department at Washington, were given to understand last month that the United States, speaking through the President, would consider it specially unfortunate if the renewed controversy over the provinces of Tacna and Arica were to involve two and possibly three of the South American republics in war at a time when not only the United States but all the other American republics were ready to aid in mediating the difficulty and also at a time when a conference was about opening in Paris, by which body "it is confidently expected that steps will be taken to provide for an era of lasting peace among all peoples." Such a resort to arms President Wilson, through Acting Secretary of State Polk, intimated to the Chilean and Peruvian presidents, "would be disastrous," and he also said that persons who caused any such condition would be "charged with grave responsibility before the world for their actions." He called on the militant governments to consider the duty they owed to the rest of the world and to mankind in general to stop popular agitation and to re-establish their peaceful relations. He announced that the United States stood ready to tender, either alone or in conjunction with other countries of South America, "all possible assistance to bring about an equitable solution of the matter." Chile, in reply, contented herself with expressing appreciation of the offer, reiterating an unshakable determination to preserve peace and to carry out the treaty of Ancon. Peru answered that it hoped that the offices of the United States would be employed as suggested in the communication of President Wilson. Peru, by the way, henceforth will be represented at Washington by an ambassador. The issue between Peru and Bolivia on the one hand and Chile on the other, arising from Chilean retention of the Tacna-Arica territory, provides South America with its Alsace-Lorraine controversy. Pressure from Great Britain was hastening settlement on arbitral lines when the war broke out in 1914. Authorities differ now as to which fact is most responsible for the renewal of the controversy in a more acute form, pro-German activities in Peru or the contagious influence of the "self-determination" theory of state and provincial autonomy for which President Wilson is standing champion, backed by the masses of Europe and the Americas. Chile will find it difficult to continue to deny granting the plebiscite to the residents of the territory in dispute, to which test she is formally pledged by treaty.

... **English Nonconformity**, speaking through the National Free Church Council and officially representing the increasingly large non-Anglican elements of Brit-

ish society within the kingdom as well as informally voicing the will of the same Protestant elements of the populations of the dominions and colonies, on December 19th, forwarded to President Wilson in Paris an address in behalf of the "lineal descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers," as they described themselves. The document said:

"By the weight of your character, by your lucid statements of high aims, by which the Allies are animated, and by your presence at the Peace Conference, you have given evidence not only of your profound interest in the solution of many problems, but have established for yourself an unprecedented position among the forces that are maturing for the forward movement of mankind.

"We hail with peculiar satisfaction your strenuous support of a League of Nations, which is, in our judgment, the surest guarantee that human wisdom can devise for the ultimate peace of the world, and we trust that by divine blessing you and those associated with you in the Peace Conference may be enabled to make it universally and permanently effective."

... **Filipino and Porto Rican demands for a larger measure of home rule** are to be faced by the United States Government; and the arguments hitherto advanced are to be re-enforced by reference to the policy defined by the President for the nations of the world and championed by him during the war and now at Paris. After a prolonged and satisfactory debate in the Philippine Legislature that body recently voted to send to Washington an "independence commission" to include twenty-five members from the lawmaking body. They will formally urge that the islands be represented at the Paris Conference and that the United States take such a position at this conference with respect to protection of "small" peoples in the future that it would be safe for the islands to accept full home-rule and national independence were it granted by the United States. The commission will tour the United States stating its position. In Porto Rico, where the loyalty of the people to the United States has been shown by generous contributions of men to both the military and labor forces of the Republic during the war, there nevertheless is steadily increasing feeling against a permanent status of insular dependence. Moreover, unless there is better protection of the natives against exploitation by American and European landowners and capitalists the island is sure to be the scene of strife. Aid from the labor forces of the United States is now being given, and when the peons are "organized" and when the propaganda of revolt has been carried on a sufficiently long time then the government in control is likely to have a trying experience. Under present legislation governing the island economic injustice might be remedied, it would seem; but if it is not, this factor must be reckoned with as bound to aid the rising demand for "self-determination" to a much greater extent than now exists.

... **French champions of leagued nations**, speaking through Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and Senator Leon Bourgeois, the latter a former French

premier and, like his associates, a delegate from France to both peace conferences at The Hague, brought the appended plan before Premier Clemenceau in mid-December, and had his assurance that the principle of a society of nations would be put at the head of the French program before the Peace Conference. The details of the project are as follows:

"First—Compulsory arbitration without limitation or exception. This leaves out the old exception of questions involving national honor and dignity.

"Second—Limitation of armaments.

"Third—The establishment of a council of administration of the nations for the formulation of new international administration and international law procedure.

"Fourth—The application of 'sanctions' for making effective the decisions of the society of nations.

"Sanctions' is a diplomatic expression meaning the various steps for enforcing compliance. They are fourfold:

"First—Diplomatic sanction. The society of nations shall break diplomatic relations with any recalcitrant nation and give his passports to the ambassador or minister representing that nation

"Second—Judicial sanction, whereby the courts of all countries will be closed to a recalcitrant nation. It will thus practically be quarantined and placed outside the pale of civilized states.

"Third—Economic sanction, whereby the economic means of all nations shall be directed against any recalcitrant state. This economic weapon of the united nations will be a great power in isolating any offending nation, cutting off its foodstuffs and raw materials, when it acts in defiance of the society of nations.

"Fourth—Military sanction. This is the last sanction by which the joint nations would undertake to enforce observance of the decisions of the society of nations. This military sanction is the most difficult and delicate of all the questions involved in creating the society of nations.

"There will be different views concerning the military enforcement of peace. One view is for a small international military force, or the nucleus of an international fleet. Others regard this as unnecessary and prefer to rely on the moral force of the united nations. Some may wish to give up compulsory military service but retain the navy."

... **Germany's arguments and appeals** for a less severe policy on the part of the Allies have not been put forth with any better spirit or more tactful words than by Gen. Count Max Montegelas, in an open letter to President Wilson. Like Prince Lichnowsky, this soldier-publicist, during the last year of the war, did much to disclose the real facts as to its origin and to indict the militarist and Pan-German elements that had brought Germany into the war. This being so, his words have the more weight now. General Montegelas says:

"In these decisive weeks the eyes of all the world are upon you. Above all, the eyes of the German people in the present difficult crisis are watching you. We do not beg, we do not want forgiveness, but want justice. We do not say pharisaically that one of us is guiltier than

the other. We do not separate ourselves in these days of suffering from any of our countrymen, high or low. We want to bear in common a portion of the blame devolving upon our people in this world catastrophe.

"Each of us who knows your country knows well that proud conscious American nation beneath the Star-Spangled Banner and honors it. We disdain to blame others, but we expect, Mr. President, that you will, despite all opposition, achieve success with the principles you laid down. We are building upon the words you spoke at Washington's grave, when you said that every arbitrary power, regardless of what side it appears upon, must be destroyed or condemned to impotency. We are building upon the word of impartial justice, which knows no difference as to those to be the judged. We are confident that you want to create a league of equality between nations, in which each people may freely breathe and work and prosper spiritually.

"You know better than I what the German spirit has given your great people. You know the world can do without this spirit less than ever after it has been freed from the bonds of militarism. If our expectations are deceived, we shall not cease fighting on for the attainments of better days."

... **Germany's former colonies in Africa** quite inevitably furnish one of the most difficult problems for solution at the Paris Conference. What the more progressive and "internationally minded" of the Negroes of the United States think should be done is set forth by Dr. Dubois in his article in this issue. British imperial and South African colonial opinion is not hospitable to any thought of restoration to Germany; and as far as can be gathered from meagre data the former subjects of Germany would forcibly resist any such restoration. Self-determination by them would lead them to choose almost any other plan than subordination again to taskmasters and military martinets. It has been one of the interesting developments of the past month that opinion should be finding expression in Europe, that the United States might well become trustee for African peoples. Viscount Grey, former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, in his latest discussion of the Peace Conference and its possible achievements, names as one of the desirable outcomes extension of the idea and policy of national or international trusteeship for the backward peoples of the world, and specifically names the United States as destined, whether she wants to or not, to bear her share of the burden, especially in Africa. How far he represents the present British Government's desire and will cannot be said. But of course an international stewardship over former German possessions wherever located would be less offensive to New Germany than passing of title to any one power. For the United States to share in such a trusteeship would not establish a precedent. That was done years ago in a partial way, when the republic was a partner in control of the Congo Free State. Viscount Grey argues that "it would be as fatal to the future of the world for the United States to relapse into the old idea of strict isolation as it would be for any power to revive the German policy of separate conquest and domination." Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois, on the other

hand, is hostile to any plan which commits the United States to joint administration of the affairs of any European, Asiatic, or African territory. "Let us leave," he says, "the governing of Europe and Asia to Asia and Europe, lest by interfering with their concerns we invite them to interfere with us." In his position he is supported by Republican and Democratic Senators of the South and West.

... **Latin-American Labor and War** have not much in common judging from the resolutions recently passed at the first International Labor Conference held in Laredo, Texas, November 13-16, at which the Pan-American Federation of Labor was formed, which includes the trades unionists of the United States of America, the United States of Mexico, the States of Central and South America, and of Canada. The platform adopted by the Conference, not without debate but in the end with substantial unanimity, contains this section or plank:

"Resolved, That we declare that the following essential fundamental principles must underlie the Peace Treaty as well as the principles of all civilized nations:

"A league of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

"No political or economic restrictions meant simply to benefit some nations and to cripple others.

"No reprisals based upon vindictive purposes, or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

"Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle 'No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.'

"No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

"And, be it further

"Resolved, That in addition to these basic principles there should be incorporated in the treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we are entering, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage earners:

"That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce.

"Industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

"The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech and free press shall not be abridged.

"That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are in safe harbor.

"No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work.

"It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours per day.

"Trial by jury should be established."

... **Migration to Europe from the United States** of more persons than European Governments will permit to migrate to the United States, is one phase of post-war conditions that is beginning to attract attention. It has a variety of implications, racial, religious, economic, and political if the facts prove to correspond to the signs of the times. Both Government officials who are experts and committees of investigation appointed by trade bodies agree that there is to be an extensive movement of persons now resident in the United States back to their former homes or to the homes of their fathers; and this from a variety of motives, some sentimental and some economic. Steamship line managers look forward eagerly to a resumption of traffic across the sea, as they have more than 1,500,000 requests for passage on file. So much for that side of the problem. On the other hand there are new bills before Congress suspending immigration for two years and calling for the deportation of all enemy aliens. Nor is this all. Temporary admission of Porto Rican and West Indian labor during the war is not to become a permanent policy; and though there are sporadic attempts on the Pacific Coast to tap Asia for labor, it is not likely that the coming shortage is to be met in that way. Undoubtedly the revelations of the past four years have hardened the heart and will of the United States against the old national policy of the open door and the unchallenged admission of any person desiring residence. Influences that formerly defeated strict immigration legislation at Washington have been shown up for what they really were. The employers of cheap labor, the steamship lines, and the champions of alien peoples who not only never intended to become naturalized but did plan to impair the national integrity—these will not have as much lobby strength on Capitol Hill as formerly. If this is correct diagnosis the diminished ranks of labor need not worry much about the post-war situation of their social group.

... **Opium as a curse of humanity** some time since came under the ban of government and has figured prominently in international negotiations, especially as between Great Britain, India and China, and to a certain extent the United States. Now the stage has arrived for a similar controversy over the further making and selling of alcoholic liquors, not only to the natives of Africa but to those of Asia. For with the banning of the brewery, distillery and saloon from the United States the "interests" which have supported these forms of anti-social business have taken steps to invade China, and have already got a foothold. It is not surprising, therefore, that the "prohibition" forces of the United States are massing for an international prohibition movement, which will adapt to the new problem the tactics of propaganda and open and secret attack on persons in power that have enabled them to win their victory in the United States. They will be aided in their work by the Federal Council of Churches and by the great Protestant missionary societies of the United States. The government at Washington, through its executive and diplomatic officials, is to be pressed into the combat, and already steps have been taken for testing this phase of the issue in China.

... **Mexico** has had German influence shaping its domestic and international policy for some time, and without any serious rebuke from the Carranza administration. But since the defeat of Germany, the definition of terms of armistice, and the news of the internal situation in the Fatherland, both the large number of Germans in Mexico and the Mexican Government's officials have begun to modify their attitude of open or veiled hostility to the United States and to Americans resident within the Republic. The situation has become not unlike that in Spain, where a similar reversal has been noted. The call from Berlin on Minister von Eckhardt to leave Mexico City and depart from the scene of his prolonged campaign of plottings against the United States and the Allies is a sign of the altered régime in Germany, and may be interpreted as a sign of conciliation on the part of that nation (if it be one now) toward the United States. Whatever the motive and however sincere or insincere the act the fact is one that prophesies friendlier relations between Washington and Mexico City. Of course, before long Mexico must face the claims that her debtors in Great Britain, France and the United States have filed for losses suffered during the years between Diaz's fall and Carranza's grasp of control. Moreover, there are phases of the fiscal policy of Mexico today, operating under the new constitution, which raise fundamental issues as to the incidence of taxation on holdings of non-Mexican capitalists. The final position of the United States with respect to this Mexican policy of taxation has not been defined, but it is likely to be much more liberal than the British or French attitudes.

Romain Rolland's Appeal to Wilson

Romain Rolland, author of the remarkable novel "Jean Christophe," for which he received the award of the French Academy in 1913, and admittedly one of the ablest of contemporary Frenchmen, who has resided in Switzerland since early in the war as a "voluntary exile" because of his inability to co-operate with his countrymen, has written an open letter to President Wilson, which is appended. Its significance is not so much in its authorship as in the reflection it gives of a state of mind in European circles with which statesmen have to reckon as they sit down at the Peace Conference Table. Says Rolland:

"Mr. President: The peoples are breaking their chains. The hour that you foresaw, the hour which you willed, has struck. May it not have struck in vain!

"From one end of Europe to the other there is rising among the nations the will to reconquer the determination of their destinies and to unite for the sake of a regenerated Europe. Beyond their political boundaries their hands are groping, groping for the clasp of brotherhood. But between them always are the yawning precipices and misunderstandings. Over this abyss a bridge must be built.

"The chains of the ancient fatalism must be broken; this fatalism which forces the nations into national war and which for centuries has allowed them to leap at each other's blindly, into mutual destruction.

"But the peoples cannot free themselves alone. They are calling for help. To whom shall they turn?

"You alone, Mr. President, hold a position of universal moral authority among all these who are now burdened with the terrible honor of guiding the policies of the nations. Respond to the call of these pathetic hopes. Take both hands

that are stretched out toward you into your own. Help the peoples to reunite.

"Help these peoples who are groping to find their way, help them found a new charter of freedom and unity, the principles of which they are seeking passionately, but amid confusion.

"Mark well, Mr. President, the fact that Europe threatens to fall prey to the spheres of hell!

"The peoples in all countries have little confidence in the governing classes. You are in this hour the one lone man who can speak to and be heard by the ones as well as the others—the masses and the bourgeoisies of all nations—you are the only one who today (who knows if tomorrow may not be too late?) can act as the mediator between them.

"If this mediator fails then the separated human masses will be fatally flung, without counterbalance, into excesses. The peoples into bloody anarchy, and the parties of the old order into bloody reaction.

"Class wars, race wars, war between peoples of yesterday, war between peoples only forming today—blind social wars that seek only to satisfy hatred and the basest emotions and desires, the raving dreams of an hour that knows no morrow.

"Heir of Washington, of Abraham Lincoln! Take in your hand the cause not of one party, not of one nation, but of all! Open the doors of the Congress of Humanity to the representatives of the peoples of the earth!

"Preside at that congress with the full weight of the authority which your high moral conscience and the mighty future of America assure you.

"Speak, speak to them all! The world is hungry for a voice which reaches beyond the boundaries of nations and classes. Be the arbiter of the free peoples.

"And may the future greet you by the name 'Conciliator.' "

Excessive National Individualism

Lord Robert Cecil, who is serving as head of the League of Nations Department of the British Foreign Office, at Paris, in an interview in the *London Observer* of December 29th, said significantly:

"The moment you try to devise the machinery of a league of nations, you are struck by the existence of complete international anarchy. The great difficulty in providing an alternative to war lies in the difficulty of providing effective action to compel obedience to any regulation which may be made on the subject.

"If there existed any system of international co-operation with formal, or even informal, regulations, this difficulty would be easily surmounted. It is therefore a mistake to look upon the prevention of war as the sole function of nations. The essential thing is to obtain recognition for the fact that the interests of humanity as a whole really exist. We have to work in order that the nations shall not forget that they are a part of one another.

"Any one who makes an attempt to sketch out the terms of the peace settlement will meet at every turn problems that can only be solved by international co-operation. Take, for instance, the tropical countries inhabited by barbarous populations. In a world ruled by international co-operation it will be realized that such countries must be administered for the benefit of their own people and their products made available for the whole world. If this is done it will matter little by which nation they are administered.

"In the case of the vast countries of Asia without good government, in the period before independence can be exercised there must be assistance from the outside, and this is bound to lead to international difficulties unless some power is intrusted by the nations of the world with the duty of providing this assistance.

"International waterways will be more important under any future settlement in Europe than in the past. More than one case can be cited besides the Dardanelles and the Danube, where possession by one power of means of access to the ocean of another power has been a contributory cause of European unrest. The Danube has been regulated by an international commission. With a league of nations there is